AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Third Volume

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of ENGLAND.

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
GILBERT, Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*.

The ſecond Edition.

Hoc laboris pretium petam, uti me à conſpectu malorum, quæ noſtra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantiſper certè dum priſca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam; omnis expers curæ, quæ ſcribentis animum, etſi non flectere à vero, ſolicitum tamen efficere poſſit. Livii Hiſt. Lib. 1.

LONDON:
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Mr. CHURCHILL,

YOUR care in putting ſo many Advertiſements in the Gazettes, *has been of very great Uſe to me; but becauſe I would gladly have the Hiſtory of our Reformation to be as full and perfect as may be, I do now ſend you the* Introduction to the Third Volume, *that is almoſt ready to be put in the Preſs; which I deſire you to print in a ſmaller Form; hoping it will give ſuch publick Notice of my Deſign, that it may come into the Hands of thoſe, who perhaps look not into the Advertiſe-*

ments in Gazettes, *and ſo may move them that can furniſh me with other Materials, to help me to finiſh this* WORK *with great Advantage, for which I am ready to make them all the Returns that are in my Power. I deſire you will prefix to this a Paſſage out of* Livy, *which does ſo perfectly agree with my preſent Thoughts, that I cannot expreſs them better nor more truly than thoſe Words do:*

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Salisbury,
Sept. 26. 1713.

G. SARUM.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE Third Volume OF THE HISTORY OF THE *REFORMATION*, &c.

I come, after a long Interval of Three and Thirty Years, to give all the Finiſhing to the Hiſtory of Our *REFORMATION* that I have been able to collect; either from New Diſcoveries that have come in my now

own way, or the kind Advertiſements of Friends, and the ſevere Animadverſions of Criticks; of which I have endeavoured to make the beſt Uſe that I could. It has been objected to me, that I wrote in Haſte, and did not reflect enough on the Matters I wrote about. That may be very true; and I will give an account how it happened to be ſo. When *Sanders*'s Hiſtory was publiſhed in *France*, it had ſo ill an Effect there, that ſome of our beſt Divines were often called on to haſten ſuch an Anſwer to it, as might ſtop the Courſe of ſo virulent a Book: Thoſe, to whom theſe Advices were ſent, thought me a proper Perſon to be engaged in it.

The ancient, the learned, and the pious Biſhop of *Worceſter*, is the only Perſon now alive, that was concerned in the Choice, and he having read all the printed Books that he could hear of relating to thoſe times, had taken the Dates of every remarkable thing that paſſed, out of them, which he cauſed to be copyed out for me; they are about eight Sheets of Paper. Upon this Stock I ſet out, and ſearched all the publick Offices about the Town, with a Labour and Diligence that

was then look'd on as no contemptible Performance. I mark'd every thing as exactly as I could. I might in such a Variety make some Mistakes, for which Men of Candour will make just Allowances. But when I had gone thro' all that lay thus open to me, I knew what Treasures were still in the *Cotton* Library.

The present Bishop of *Worcester* carried me to Sir *John Cotton* to ask admittance; but a great Prelate had been before hand with us, and had possess'd him with such Prejudices against me, as being no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, nor to the Constitution of our Church, that he said, as he was prepared, That unless the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and a Secretary of State would recommend me, as a Person fit to have access to his Library, he desir'd to be excus'd: And tho' that worthy Prelate said he would be answerable for the Use that I should make of it; yet he could not be prevail'd on to depart from the Answer that he had made us. Nor could that Reverend Person prevail with Archbishop *Sancroft* to interpose: And tho' I offer'd to deliver up all the Collections

lections I had made, to any Perſon that would undertake the Work, yet no Regard was had to that: So I ſaw it was reſolv'd on, either not to let that Work go on, or at leaſt that I ſhould not have the Honour to be employ'd in it.

With this we were at a full Stop, when accidentally meeting with Sir *John Marſham* the Younger, I told him how I was deny'd Acceſs to the *Cotton* Library: But he told me he was by Marriage a Nephew to the Family, and that for many Years he had free acceſs to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleas'd: So I with a Copier went thither under his Protection; and we were hard at Work from Morning to Night for Ten Days; but then the Owner with his Family coming to Town, I could go no further. In that time, and in the haſte we were in, I did make ſuch a Progreſs, that the good Biſhop, together with the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Tillotſon*, and the late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Stillingfleet*, thought I was ſufficiently furniſh'd with Materials for compoſing the firſt Volume. Every Part of it, as I wrote it, paſs'd thro' their Hands, and under

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their Cenſure, and I ſubmitted to their Judgment in every particular.

I have been told, one that was much practiſed in that Library, who is now dead, has cenſured me for not comparing, what my Copier wrote, carefully with the Originals; to this all I can ſay is, that, as my Copier by much Practice was become pretty exact; ſo I made him read all over to me, having the Originals in my Hands. I cannot ſay in ſuch dull, tho' neceſſary Work, as the Collating thoſe Things, I carried along with me all the Attention that was requiſite; but I did it as well as I could. And when I was lately in the *Cotton* Library, I read over ſeveral of the Originals, but found no material Differences from the Copies I had printed. One indeed runs thro' all thoſe in the *Engliſh* Language, which might perhaps offend a ſevere Critick, that the old Spelling is not every where exactly Copied. I did recommend it to my Copier, and he obſerv'd it often; but he ſaid when he wrote quick, it was impoſſible for him to carry an antiquated Spelling along with his Pen.

The firſt Volume lay a Year after I wrote it, before it was put in the Preſs, and was offer'd to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themſelves that trouble. When it was brought to Secretary *Coventry* for his Licence, he was pleaſed to ſay that he dipped into it out of Curioſity, but added that he found ſuch an Entertainment in it, that he could not part with it till he had read it quite through. The Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Chancellor, took time to read and examine it, and to add many Remarks in ſeveral parts of it, in all which I ſubmitted to his Cenſure: And ſome ſmaller Matters coming in my way, they were added; ſo when thoſe under whoſe Direction I made every Step in it, adviſed me to put it in the Preſs, I went on with it.

It happened to come out a few Months after the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*; and the Ferment of that working powerfully over all the Nation, the Work was favourably received; and as I had the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament for it, with a Deſire to finiſh what I had begun; ſo thoſe who were the moſt Zealous againſt Popery, preſſed me to make

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all poſſible haſt with the 2*d* Volume, when they underſtood that I had made conſiderable Diſcoveries with Relation to Queen *Mary*'s Reign. By that time Sir *John Cotton* ſeeing the good Uſe I had made of his Library, was pleaſed to acknowledge the Injuſtice of the Suggeſtions that had been made to my Prejudice, and allowed me free Liberty to examine every thing in it; in which I ought to have been more exact than I was, in ſearching into the Matters ſet forth in my firſt Volume, but the repeated Importunities of my Friends for my Publiſhing the Second Volume ſo far prevail'd, that I only examined what belonged to that Period. I took indeed ſome Papers relating to the former Reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inſerted them. I had alſo other Materials brought me from ſeveral Hands, upon the publick Notice that I gave of my Deſign in the Firſt Volume.

That Primitive Biſhop *Fell*, of *Oxford*, engaged an Acquaintance of his, Mr. *Fullman*, to make Remarks on it, which he did with a particular Acrimony of Stile; for which the Biſhop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was Material, and ſent it to him

to ſee if he did not find in it the Subſtance of all his Remarks on the Firſt, at the End of the Second Volume. It has been publiſh'd over and over again, that he complain'd, that I did not print a full Account of his Cenſure. The Fact was thus, I ſent it to him by the Carrier, and beg'd of him, that if he had any Exception to the Abſtract I had made of his Remarks, he would return it back to me, as ſoon as was poſſible; for the Preſs was to be ſtop'd till it came. I ſtay'd for it till the ſecond Return of the Carrier; and when no Anſwer came, I reckon'd he acquieſced in my Abſtract, ſo I put it in the Preſs: But before it was printed off, his Anſwer came by the third Return of the Carrier; and I, finding that he excepted to ſome few Parts of my Paper, was at the Charge of Reprinting it exactly to his Mind; and he afterwards received the Preſent that I made him without any Inſinuation of any Complaint.

Thus this Work was ſent abroad into the World; nor do I yet ſee what more I could have done to procure me better Information, nor what other ſteps I could have made. It took quiet Poſſeſſion of the

the Belief of the Nation at Home, and of a great Part of *Europe* abroad, being Tranſlated into four Languages; and for ſome Years I heard of neither Cenſure nor Anſwer.

When I went to *Paris* in the Year 1685, I found there was a Cenſure going about, written, but not printed. It came into my Hands, and I preſently wrote an Anſwer to it, which I got to be put into *French*; and all who read both Papers, ſeem'd fully ſatisfy'd with my Anſwer, which will be found at the End of this Volume. I was told that it was writ by Mr *Le Grand*, who had given out in many Companies that he had great Objections ready to be made to my Hiſtory. Upon that two learned and worthy Men, Mr *Auzont* and Mr *Thevenot*, deſigned to bring us together, and to hear what Mr *Le Grand* had to object; we din'd at Mr *Thevenot*'s; and after Dinner, for the ſpace of three Hours, Mr *Le Grand* propoſed his Objections, and I anſwer'd them on the ſudden, far from Charming them with my Eloquence, which Mr *Le Grand* muſt certainly mean as a Jeſt, for I pretend to no more *French*, than

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to be underſtood when I ſpeak it. What he ſaid was mean and trifling, and yet it was ſo fully anſwered by me, that we parted civilly, and as I thought, good Friends, and when he was gone, both *Thevenot* and *Auzont* ſaid they were aſhamed to hear ſuch poor Things objected (*pauvretes*) was their Word) after the Noiſe that Mr *Le Grand* had made: But two Days after Mr *Auzont* came to me, both in his own name and in Mr. *Thevenot's*, and deſired me not to ſpeak of that Matter to any Perſon: The Court was then ſo ſet on extirpating Hereſie, that they apprehended any thing ſaid by me, might bring me into Trouble; they would do me Juſtice, ſo I needed not be concern'd to do it to myſelf.

I muſt alſo add, that Mr *Le Grand* ſaid, after he had offer'd his Objections, that as to the main of my Hiſtory, he could furniſh me with many Materials to ſupport it; and he made me a Preſent of a very Valuable Book, publiſhed by *Comuſat* at *Troyes*, 1613, with the Title of *Melanges Hiſtoriques*, of which I ſhall have occaſion to make good uſe in the following Work. The Matter reſted thus till the Year 1688, that Mr *Le Grand*

Grand publiſhed the *Hiſtory of King Henry* VIII's *Divorce*, and ſoon after that, two other Volumes of his appeared: One was a ſevere Invective againſt me and my Hiſtory, the other was a Collection of Letters by which his Hiſtory was juſtified: In this laſt, there are ſome very Valuable Ones, to which I ſhall have occaſion oftener than once to refer my Reader. In the two firſt of theſe Tomes, Mr *Le Grand* thought fit to lay aſide all ſort of good Manners; and to treat me more in the Stile of an angry Monk, than of one that had lived long in the Company of well-bred Men. I imputed this to a Management he was under by ſome of the Court of that unfortunate Prince, who ſoon after felt the Tragical Effects of ſuch unhappy Counſellors, as had then the Aſcendant: To theſe I did believe Mr *Le Grand* had dedicated his Pen, and that drew from me a ſevere Poſtſcript to a Cenſure that I publiſhed upon the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Book of Variations, for which I am heartily ſorry, and ask his Pardon.

The Truth is, the firſt Paper in his third Tome, ſeemed to juſtifie any thing that could have been ſaid, to expoſe a Man

Man that could offer ſuch an Abſtract as he gave of it in his Hiſtory, and them that judged ſo ill as to think fit to print that Letter, that does plainly contradict the Senſe he gave of it. The Letter is writ by *Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, to King *Henry*, in the Year 1526, on the Subject of the Divorce. He owns that he writ the Book, which had been brought to the King the Day before, by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Dr. *Wakfeld*, who was ready to defend it all, either in Writing or in a publick Diſputation: " * And ſince he heard from the King, " that ſome of his learned Counſellors " wrote, that *Deuteronomy* abrogated " *Leviticus*, he ſhews him how falſe that " was. It was only a Recapitulation of " the *Moſaick* Law; it ſeems they " thought this was the Importance of the " Greek Word *Deuteronomy*, (or a Se-
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* Et quoniam Majeſtas tua mihi ſignificavit, neſcio quos è ſuis literatis conſiliariis ſcripſiſſe Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquiſivi quid id ſibi vellet; & tandem inveni id indubitato falſum eſſe: Eſt Compendium ac Repetitio, ſeu, ut ita dicam, Recapitulatio legis Moſaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen *Deuteronomium*, quantum ad ſenſum rei attinet illud, idem ſignificat quod habetur in Hebræo, id eſt liber

" cond Law) but he ſhews that it im-
" ported only a Repetition of the former
" Law, and the Book had another Title
" in the *Hebrew*. Then he ſays that
" *Wakfeld* deſired him to let him know
" whether the King had a Mind to know
" the Truth in that Matter, whether it
" ſtood for him or againſt him: To this
" *Pace* anſwer'd, That the King deſired
" nothing but what became a Noble and
" a Vertuous Prince, and that he would
" do a moſt acceptable Thing to him,
" if he would take pains to let him know
" what was the pure Verity: Then he
" being under ſome fear, ſaid he could
" not ſet about it, unleſs his Majeſty
" would enjoin and command it; but
" when he received his Commands, he
" would ſet forth ſuch Things both a-

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liber in quo continetur ſecunda lex vel repetitio primæ legis; poſt meum à Majeſtate tua diſceſſum D R *Wakfeldus* unice me rogavit ut ſibi ſignificarem an placeret tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum ſtaret à te an contra te? Ei ita reſpondi, te nihil velle quod eſſet alienum à nobili Principe & ſingularibus Virtutibus prædito; Illum Majeſtati tuæ rem gratiſſimam facturum ſi laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declaret. Tum ille neſcio quo ductus timore negavit ſe hoc poſſe facere, niſi Majeſtas tua id ſibi injungeret & mandaret; & ſi mandares ſe producturum in medium tam contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo regno producere poſſet.

" gainſt him and for him, as no other " Perſon within his Kingdom could do." There is nothing here but what is Honourable both for the King, for *Pace*, and for *Wakfeld*.

Mr *Le Grand* has made a very particular Abſtract of this; he ſays, " † *Pace* " deſigning to flatter his Prince's Paſſion, " thought they ſhould not ſtand either " on the Vulgar or the 70 Tranſlators, " but have recourſe only to the *Hebrew*, " which he maintained was more favou- " rable to the King. He had written " to *Wakfeld*, and ſhewed him the " trouble the King was in, and deſired " he would clear up the Matter; *Wak-* " *feld* raviſhed to be thus employ'd, ſaid " he would juſtifie all that *Pace* had ſaid " to the King; but then apprehending that

† Nos avons la lettre de ce dernier (*Pace*) qui cherchant à flatter la Paſſion de ſon Prince, vouloit que ſans s'arreter ni à la Vulgate ni à la Traduction des ſeptante, on eut recours au texte Hebrew; qu'il ſoutenoit luy eſtre plus favorable. Il en ecrivit à *Robert Wakfeld*, & luy decouvrit l'embarras ou le Roy ſe trouvoit, le priant de lui vouloir eclaircir cette matiere. *Wakfeld* ravy de travailler pour le Roy, repondit d'abord, qu'il appueroit ce que *Pace* avoit dit à *Henry*. Puis faiſant reflexion que *Pace* pouvoit le tromper

" that *Pace* might deceive him, or be " deceived himſelf; or perhaps that the " King might change his Mind, he de- " ſired that the King himſelf would let " him know what he would have him to " do, whether he ſhould defend the one " ſide or the other; and he would do " according to the Orders he ſhould re- " ceive, and make ſuch Diſcoveries for " or againſt it as ſhould paſs the Capacity " of all *Engliſh-Men.* Thus (ends he) " *Wakfeld,* who had more Vanity than " Religion, was driving a Traffick with " his Sentiments.

I have put on the Margin the *Latin* of *Pace*'s Letters, and the account that Mr *Le Grand* gives of it in *French*, that the Reader may judge what can be thought of a Man that repreſents Things ſo unfairly, and makes ſuch Inferences

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tromper ou ſe tromper lui meme, ou que le Roy changeroit peut eſtre, Il alla trouvoir *Pace*, & lui temoignoit, qu'il ſouhaitroit que ſa Majeſté lui ecrivit elle meme, ce qu'elle Vouloit qu'il fit, & ſi il devoit defendre le pour ou le contre, & qu' alors ſelon les ordres qu'il recevroit, il donneroit des eclairciſſemens ou pour ou contre, qui paſſeroient le capacité de tous les Anglois. C'eſt ainſi que *Wakefeld*, qui avoit plus de Vanité que de Religion, trafiquoit de ſes ſentiments.

from them. I confeſs this raiſed in me too much Indignation to be governed as it ought to have been: I therefore thought ſuch a Writer deſerved not to be followed in every Step. I likewiſe employ'd at ſeveral times, ſome who went to *Paris*, to try in what Eſteem that Performance was; and if I was not much deceived in the Accounts ſent me from thence, the Book had loſt the Eſteem of all Perſons there, ſo that it was no more talked of nor read. I cannot therefore bring myſelf to examine it minutely, yet where any Matter of Weight requires it, I ſhall either juſtifie or retract what I had delivered in my Hiſtory. I ſhall ſay no more of that Work in this plaee, ſave only that the Original Judgment of the *Sorbonne*, about which Mr *Le Grand* ſeemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the Conference I had with him, and in his Book, is now found by Mr. *Rymer*, among the other Judgments of the Univerſities in the ſecret Treaſury, out of which that laborious Searcher into our Original Treaties, has already publiſhed 15 great Volumes in Folio: Of this I ſhall give a more particular Account in its proper place.

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The next Attack that was made on my Work, was in the Year 1693, under the Title of *a Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* England; by *Anthony Harmer*. It is well known that was a diſguiſed Name, and that the Author was Mr. *Henry Wharton*, who had publiſhed Two Volumes with the Title of *Anglia Sacra*: He had examined the dark Ages before the Reformation, with much Diligence, and ſo knew many Things relating to thoſe Times, beyond any Man of the Age; he pretended that he had many more Errors in reſerve, and that this Specimen was only a haſty Collection of a few, out of many other Diſcoveries he could make: This conſiſted of ſome trifling and minute Differences in ſome Dates of Tranſactions of no Importance, upon which nothing depended; ſo I cannot tell whether I took theſe too eaſily from printed Books, or if I committed any Errors in my Notes taken in the ſeveral Offices. He likewiſe follows me through the ſeveral Recapitulations I had made of the State of Things before the Reformation, and finds Errors and Omiſſions in moſt of theſe; he adds ſome things out of Papers I had never

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ſeen. The whole was writ with ſo much Malice, and ſuch Contempt, that I muſt give ſome Account of the Man and of his Motives. He had expreſs'd great Zeal againſt Popery, in the End of King *James*'s Reign, being then Chaplain to Arch-Biſhop *Sancroft*, who, as he ſaid, had promiſed him the firſt of thoſe Prebends of *Canterbury* that ſhould fall in his Gift; ſo when he ſaw that the Archbiſhop was reſolved not to take the Oaths, but to forſake his Poſt, he made an earneſt Application to me, to ſecure that for him at Arch-Biſhop *Tillotſon*'s Hands: I preſſed it as much as was decent for me to do, but he ſaid he would not encourage theſe aſpiring Men, by promiſing any thing before it ſhould fall; as indeed none of them fell during his Time. *Wharton* upon this Anſwer, thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil Denial, and ſaid he would be revenged; and ſo he publiſhed that *Specimen*. Upon which I, in a Letter that I printed, addreſſed to the preſent Biſhop of *Worceſter*, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reſerved at that time; for till that was done, I would not enter upon the Examination of that *Specimen*. It

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was received with Contempt; and *Tillotſon* juſtified my preſſing him to take *Wharton* under his particular Protection ſo fully, that he ſent and asked me Pardon: He ſaid he was ſet on to it, and that, if I would procure any thing for him, he would diſcover every thing to me: I deſpis'd that Offer, but ſaid that I would at any Price buy of him thoſe Diſcoveries that he pretended to have in reſerve; but Mr. *Chiſwel* (at whoſe Houſe he then lay, being ſick,) ſaid he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing; he died about a Year after: So I will ſay no more of him, only this, that where I ſee a Voucher for any thing that he objects, I will ſubmit and own my Error, but I have no Reaſon to take any thing on his Word. I have a Work lying on my Table, which ſhews how little regard is due to his Collections. It was ſent me by a worthy Perſon in one of the Univerſities, and is a Collating of ten Pages of his *Anglia Sacra*, with the Manuſcript that he vouches: It ſwells indeed to a Book. *Wharton* omits the moſt material Paſſage of an Inſtrument that blemiſhed one of his Heroes. In ſome places there are Errors in every Line, and there are three Capital

Errors

Errors in one Line, and about 50 in that ſmall compaſs; I have ſhewed the Book to a great many Perſons, and will ſhew it to any who deſire to ſee it, but do not deſcend here to further Particulars, for that perhaps might diſcover the Author, and expoſe him to the Malice of an ill-natur'd Cabal. Since that time, a Writer of a greater Name, has with abundance of ill-natur'd Scorn, pretended to under-value my Work. I name him not, for I love not to tranſmit the Remembrance of ſuch Things to Poſterity. Where he gives ſuch Vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract; but when he appeals to ſome nameleſs Manuſcript in his own Poſſeſſion, I will have no regard to this; for a Writer that has been found too faulty in citing ſuch Vouchers as can be examined, ought not to expect Belief, when he has recourſe to ſuch as are kept by him as Secrets, not to be communicated but to a few Confidents, nor entirely to theſe, as I have been informed: All that has been hitherto objected to me, tho' with Airs of great Aſſurance and Scorn, has been ſo trifling, that ſome good Judges have thought I ſhewed them too much Reſpect to take any notice of them: They thought it was enough

enough to mark down ſuch ſmall Miſtakes as I ſaw had been made by me, without ſo much as mentioning thoſe who made ſuch Reflections: I would have complied with their Advice, if I had not a juſt Zeal to maintain the Credit of that Work; which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the Diſcoveries that had been made, even in the minuteſt Matters, tho' with all the Indecency and Contempt poſſible.

A very worthy Perſon in one of the Univerſities, has ſent me a copious Collection of Remarks on both my former Volumes, but upon Condition not to name him; which I will obſerve Religiouſly, becauſe I promiſed it; tho' it is not eaſie to myſelf, ſince I may not own to whom I owe ſo great an Obligation; but I ſuppreſs none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me: I have had Aſſiſtance from ſome other Hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them, in their proper Places.

I have choſen rather to publiſh all that is of new offer'd to me, in a Volume apart, than to reprint my former Volumes, with theſe Corrections, as ſome

have adviſed me to do. There are ſome Thouſands of the former Impreſſions abroad in the Nation, that would be of little Value, if any ſuch New Edition ſhould appear. I have ever looked on ſuch New enlarged Editions, as little leſs than a robbing the Publick; beſides that, in ſo doing, I ſhould only drop thoſe Errors of my former Work, without that formal diſowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe the Publick. I have ever looked on Falſhoods in Hiſtory when fallen into deliberately, as the worſt ſort of Lying, both the moſt publick and the moſt laſting: But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet perſiſted in after a Diſcovery, they are as bad as when done on Deſign. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could, and if in ſo great a Variety of Materials, ſome are Spurious, and others appear doubtful, and if in the haſte in which the Circumſtances of that Time almoſt forced me to publiſh that Work, without looking out for more Aid, and without waiting for further Diſcoveries, there are ſome inconſiderable Errors and Defects in the leſs important Parts of my Work, that relate not to the main of Things, I hope

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the World will be ſo juſt and ſo favourable as to make fair Allowances for them, and to accept all the Reparation I can make for paſt Errors, when I own my failing, and ſet my Readers right.

I come next to give an account of the Reaſons that moved me to ſet about this Work at this time. The Reaſons of my engaging in it at firſt ſeemed now to return upon me; and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor then in view, and the dreadful Apprehenſions we had of the Power of *France*, and of the Zeal with which the extirpating that which ſome called the *Peſtilent Hereſie that had ſo long infeſted theſe Northern Kingdoms*, was then driven on, made it ſeem a proper time to awaken the Nation, by ſhewing both what Popery, and what the Reformation was; by ſhewing the Cruelty and Falſhood of the former, and what the Patience and Courage of our Reformers was; and the Work had generally ſo good an Effect then, that if the like Dangers ſeem to revert, it may not be an improper attempt, to try once more to awaken a Nation, that has perhaps

forgot paſt Dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.

If there is any Difference between the preſent State of things, and that we were in above 30 Year ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceleſs, more inſenſible and ſtupid, and much more depraved in all reſpects than we were then. We are ſunk in our Learning, vitiated in Principle, tainted, ſome with Atheiſm, others with Superſtition; both which, tho' by different ways, prepare us for Popery. Our old Breaches are not healed, and new ones, not known in former times, are raiſed and fomented with much Induſtry, and great Art, as well as much Heat: Many are barefacedly going back to that Miſery, from which God with ſuch a mighty Hand reſcued us; and has hitherto preſerved us with an amazing Chain of happy Providences; but *the deaf Adder ſtops her ear, let the Charmer charm never ſo wiſely.*

All Books relating to thoſe Controverges lie dead in Shops, few calling for them; many of them, as Men of the Trade have told me, being looked on as waſt Paper, and turned to Paſtboard. There are after all, ſome real and

and ſenſible Arguments, that may perhaps have ſome Effect on thoſe, who let not themſelves be moved with matters of dry Speculation, or with cold Reaſoning: I have made many Diſcoveries, that may awaken ſome, on whom the cleareſt Demonſtrations will perhaps make no Impreſſion.

In Queen *Mary*'s time, beſide all that Scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious Breach of ſolemn Promiſes, of the corrupting and packing of Parliaments, and of that unrelenting Cruelty which was purſued to the end of that Reign, without intermiſſion; I have had occaſion to ſee much further into the Spirit which then prevailed. I have had the Peruſal of the Original Council-Book, that went from the beginning of her Reign to the laſt day of the year 1557. in which ſuch a Spirit of Cruelty and Bigottry appears, thro' the whole courſe of that Reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmleſs Woman, weak tho' learned, guilty of nothing but what her Religion infuſed in her, ſo carried to an Indecence of Barbarity, that it appears that *Bonner* himſelf was not cruel enough, for her, or at leaſt for her Confeſſor.

feſſor. She believed her ſelf with Child, and when the time came in which ſhe expected to be delivered, ſhe continued looking for it every day above a Month; then a Conceit was put in her Head, that ſhe could not bear her Child, as long as there was a Heretick left in the Kingdom.

It was a great part of the Buſineſs of the Council to quicken the Perſecution every where; Letters were writ to the Men of Quality in the ſeveral Counties, to aſſiſt at the Execution of thoſe who ſuffered for Hereſie, and to call on all their Friends to attend on them. Letters of Thanks were writ to ſuch Officious Perſons, as expreſſed their Zeal, ordering them to commit all to Priſon, who came not to the Service, and to keep them in Priſon till the comfort of their Amendment appeared. Directions were given to put ſuch as would not diſcover others, to the Torture; Thanks were in a particular Stile ſent to ſome Gentlemen, who (as it is expreſſed) came ſo *honeſtly and of themſelves to aſſiſt the Sheriffs at thoſe Executions.* Pretences of Conſpiracies were every where under Examination, many were committed and tried for Words; Letters

ters were writ to Corporations about the Elections of Mayors, and the Lords had many Letters to look carefully to the Elections of Parliament Men, and to engage the Electors to reſerve their Voices for ſuch as they ſhould name: Sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay Executions, in hopes of reclaiming Perſons ſo condemned; but they were order'd to do ſo no more.

Letters were on one day wrote to the Sheriffs of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Staffordſhire*, and to ſeveral Mayors, to ſignifie what had moved them to ſtay the Execution of ſuch Perſons as had been delivered to them by the Ordinaries, being condemned for Hereſie. One Letter of a more ſingular Strain was wrote to the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs of *London*, to give Subſtantial Orders (I give the Words in the Council-Book) "That when any obſtinate Man con- "demned by the Order of the Law, "ſhall be deliver'd to be puniſh'd for "Hereſie, there be a good number of "Officers and other Men appointed to "be at the Execution; who may be char- "ged to ſee ſuch as ſhall miſuſe them- "ſelves, either by comforting, aiding "or praiſing the Offenders, or other- "wiſe

14 *Jan.* 155⅝.

" wiſe uſe themſelves to the ill Example " of others, to be apprehended and com- " mitted to Ward; and beſides to give " commandment that no Houſholder " ſuffer any of his Apprentices, or o- " ther Servants to be Abroad, other than " ſuch as their Maſters will anſwer for, " and that this Order be always obſerv'd " in like Caſes hereafter." Such pains were taken to extinguiſh all the Impreſſions of Humanity, or at leaſt to puniſh every Expreſſion of it, and this was ſo conſtantly purſued, that three Men and two Women were burnt at *Canterbury* on the 10*th* of *November*, a Week before her Death, for ſhe died on the 17*th*.

Cox Hiſt. of *Ireland*.

Nor were they ſatisfied with all theſe Arts of Cruelty in *England*, but hearing that there were ſome of that ſort in *Ireland*, one *Cole* was ſent over with a Commiſſion to ſet a Perſecution on Foot there: When he was at *Cheſter*, the Corporation waiting on him, in reſpect to his being ſent by the Queen, he ſhewed them his Powers and Letters to the Government of *Ireland*, but leaving his Papers on the Table, when he went in reſpect to this Body to conduct them down Stairs, the Miſtreſs of the Houſe, being ſecretly a Zealous Woman, did with a parti-

particular Addreſs, make up a Packet like his, in which ſhe put a Pack of Cards, the Knave of Clubs being turned uppermoſt; and ſo ſhe took away his Papers, putting this inſtead of them. He ſuſpecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to *Dublin*, and deliver'd his Meſſage and Packet to the Council there, which was certainly received with Scorn and Indignation. He came back to *London*, and got New Powers, a few days before the Queen's Death; for the News of it overtook him before he had his Paſſage. The Levity of this Story made me at firſt ſuſpect it, till I found it in ſeveral Books, in which it is ſaid that the Woman had for this Service a Penſion from Queen *Elizabeth*. *Cox* Hiſt. of *Ireland*.

I have in my former Hiſtory ſhewed what Steps were made in that Reign, towardsthe ſetting up an Inquiſition in *England*; which was very probably ſuggeſted by King *Philip* and ſome of his *Spaniards*, as the only ſure Method to extirpate Hereſie; but I have ſince ſeen ſome further Steps made towards it. *Ratcliffe*, Earl of *Suſſex*, was in high favour; and he, who ſaw what was the Method to ſecure and advance it, moved, that, inſtead of the dilatory Proceedings in the Ordinary Courts, ſuch Offenders

ſhould be proceeded againſt by Martial Law. To this the Council wrote Anſwer, They commended his Zeal, and acknowledged that ſuch Perſons deſerved to be ſo us'd: Yet it was not thought the beſt way, but they were to be puniſh'd as the Laws did order: But when they had had their Puniſhment, he was order'd to keep them in Priſon and in Irons, till they came to know themſelves and their Duty. I have alſo found what he did towards the ſetting up an Inquiſition. I did formerly print the Inſtructions that were ſent to the County of *Norfolk*. Of theſe the *6th* did run thus; " They ſhall procure to " have in every Pariſh or part of the " Shire, as near as may be, ſome one " or more honeſt Men ſecretly Inſtruct- " ed, to give Information of the Inhabi- " tants amongſt or about them.". I find in a Regiſter of the Earl of *Suſſex*, that to the *6th* Article it is agreed, " That " the Juſtices of the Peace in every of " their Limits, ſhall call ſecretly before " them, one or two honeſt and ſecret " Perſons, or more by their Diſcretions, " and ſuch as they ſhall think good, and " command them by Oath, or other ways " as the ſame Juſtices ſhall think good, " that they ſhall ſecretly learn and ſearch " out ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall " evil

2 Vol of *H. R.* Coll. of Records p. 283.

" evil behave themſelves idly at Church,
" or deſpiſe openly by Words the King
" and Queen's Proceedings, or go about
" to make or move any Stirre, Commo-
" tion, or unlawful gathering together
" of the People, or that ſhall tell any Se-
" ditious or lewd Tales, Rumours, or
" News, to move or ſtir any Perſon or
" Perſons to riſe, ſtir, or make any Com-
" motion or Inſurrection, or to conſent
" to any ſuch Intent or Purpoſe, and alſo
" that the ſame Perſons ſo to be appoint-
" ed, ſhall declare to the ſame Juſtices of
" the Peace, the ill Behaviour of lewd
" diſorder'd Perſons, whether it ſhall be
" for uſing unlawful Games, Idleneſs,
" and ſuch other light Behaviour of ſuch
" ſuſpected Perſons, as ſhall be within
" the ſame Town, or near there abouts;
" and that the ſame Information ſhall
" be given ſecretly to the Juſtices, and
" the ſame Juſtices ſhall call ſuch accuſed
" Perſons before them, and Examin
" them without declaring by whom they
" be accuſed; and that the ſame Juſtices
" ſhall upon their Examinations, puniſh
" the Offenders according as their Of-
" fences ſhall appear to them upon the
" Accuſement and Examination by their
" Diſcretion, either by open Puniſh-
" ment or good Abering;" I do not

understand the Importance of this Word: Here are sworn Spies appointed, like the Familiars of the Inquisition, secret Depositions not to be discovered, and upon these further Proceedings are order'd: If this had been well settled, what remained to compleat a Court of Inquisition, would have been more easily carried.

Here is that, which those who look towards a Popish Successor must look for, when that Evil Day comes. All this will make little Impression on those, who have no fixed Belief of any thing in Religion themselves, and so may reckon it a small Matter to be of any Religion that comes to have the Law and the Government on it's Side, and resolve to change with every Wind and Tide, rather than put any thing to hazard by strugling against it: Yet some Compassion to those, who have a more firm Belief of those great Truths, might be expected from Men of the same Country, Kindred, and who have hitherto professed to be of the same Religion. The reviving the Fires in *Smithfield*, and from thence over the whole Nation, has no amiable View to make any hast to it; and least of all to those, who, if they have any Principles at all, must look for nothing less than the being turned out their Livings, or forced

forced to abandon their Families, and, upon every Surmize or Suſpicion, to be hunted from place to place, glad if they can get out of the Paw of the Lion, into Parts beyond the Seas, and then they may expect to meet with ſome of that haughty Contempt, with which too many have treated Foreigners who took Sanctuary among us.

But when this fatal Revolution comes upon us, if God for our Sins abandons us into the Hands of treacherous and bloody Men, whether can we hope to fly? For with us the whole Reformation muſt fall under ſuch an univerſal Ruin, that, humanly ſpeaking, there is no view left beyond that.

Yet ſince that Set of Men is ſo impiouſly corrupted in the Point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting ſuch a part in it, as may be aſſigned them; There are other Conſiderations of another ſort, ariſing from ſome Papers put in my Hands ſince I wrote the Hiſtory, that may perhaps affect them deeper, becauſe they touch in a more ſenſible Part.

It is well known, how great and how valuable a part of the whole Soil of *England*, the *Abbey-Lands*, the Eſtates of the Biſhops, of

of the Cathedrals, and the Tythes are. I will not enter into any ſtrict computation of what the whole may amount to. The Reſumption of theſe would be no eaſie Matter to many Families: And yet all theſe muſt be thrown up; for Sacriledge in the Church of *Rome* is a Mortal Sin; and therefore Cardinal *Poole*, even in that pretended Confirmation of the Grants that were then made, laid a heavy Charge on thoſe who had the Goods of the Church in their Hands, to remember the Judgments of God that fell on *Belſhazzar*, for profaning the Holy Veſſels, tho' they had not been taken by himſelf but by his Father. It is true this may be ſuppoſed to relate only to Church Plate; tho' there is no Reaſon to reſtrain ſuch a ſolemn Charge to ſo inconſiderable a part of what had been taken from the Church, no Doubt he had the whole in his View; and this ſhewed, that tho' he ſeemed to ſecure them from any Claim that the Church might have, or any Sute or Proceeding upon that account; yet he left the Weight of the Sin on their Conſciences; which a dextrous Confeſſor might manage ſo, as to make the Poſſeſſors yield up their Rights, eſpecially when they themſelves could hold them no longer. The thing was ſtill a Sin, and the Poſſeſſi-

on was unjuſt; and to make it eaſie, to reſtore in the laſt Minutes, the Statute of *Mortmain* was repealed for 20 Years, in which time, no doubt, they reckon'd they would recover the beſt part of what they had loſt: Beſides that, the engaging the Clergy to renew no Leaſes, was a thing entirely in their own Power, and that in 40 Years time, would raiſe their Revenues to be about ten times their preſent Value.

But ſetting all this aſide, it has appeared evidently to me from ſome Papers ſent me, ſome Years after I wrote my Hiſtory, that all that Tranſaction was fraudulent, and had ſo many Nullities in it, that it may be broke through whenſoever there is a Power ſtrong enough to ſet about it. In the firſt Powers that are in that Collection, all the Grace and Favour that the Pope intended to the Poſſeſſors of thoſe Lands, was to indemnify them for the mean Profits they had received, and for the Goods that had been conſumed: *They reſtoring firſt (if that ſhall ſeem expedient to you) the Lands themſelves, that are unjuſtly detained by them.* This was only the forgiving what was paſt, but the Right of the Church was inſiſted on, for the Reſtitution of thoſe Lands. The Reſervation in theſe Words *(if that ſhall*

ſeem

ſeem expedient to you) can be underſtood in no other Senſe, but that it was referred to his Diſcretion, whether he ſhould inſiſt to have the Reſtitution firſt made, before he granted the Indemnity for the mean Profits, or not.

It is true the Council in *England*, who were in that ſupported by the Emperor, thought theſe Powers were too narrow, and inſiſted to have them enlarged. That was done, but in ſo Artificial a manner, that the whole Settlement made by *Poole* ſignified nothing, but to lay the Nation once a-ſleep, under a falſe Apprehenſion of their being ſecured in thoſe Poſſeſſions, when no ſuch thing was intended; nor was it at all granted even by the lateſt Powers that were ſent to Cardinal *Poole*. For in theſe, after the Pope had referred the ſettling that matter to him, that he might tranſact it with ſuch Poſſeſſors, for whom the Queen ſhould intercede, and diſpenſe with their enjoying them for the future without any Scruple, a *Salvo* is added, by which the whole Matter is ſtill reſerved to the Pope for his final Confirmation, in theſe Words, *Salvo tamen in his in quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem hæc ſancta ſedes merito tibi videretur conſulenda, noſtro & præfatæ ſedis beneplacito & confirmatione.*

firmatione. " Saving always in ſuch " things, in which for their Greatneſs " and Importance it ſhall appear to " you, that this Holy See ought in Rea- " ſon to be conſulted, our and the ſaid " Sees good Pleaſure and Confirmation. By theſe Words it is very plain, that as in the Powers granted, they ſeem'd to be limited to a few, to ſuch for whom the QUEEN ſhould intercede, ſince it is not expreſſed that the Pope thought that She would intercede for all that poſſeſſed them; ſo they were only Proviſional: And therefore ſince no Bull of Confirmation was ever obtain'd, all theſe Proviſional Powers were Null and Void, when the Confirmation was ask'd and deny'd: As all the Hiſtorians of that time agree it was: And this was ſo ſuitable to P. *Paul* the IVth's Temper and Principles, that no Doubt is to be made of his perſiſting ſtedfaſtly in that Reſolution.

I know there was a Mercenary Writer found in King *James*'s Reign, who ſtudied to lay all People aſleep, in a ſecure Perſuaſion of their Titles to thoſe Lands. He pretends there was a Confirmation of all that *Poole* did, ſent over to *England*. He brings indeed ſome Proof that it was given out and be-

lieved, which might be a part of the Fraud to be uſed in that Matter. But as no ſuch thing appears in the Bullary, ſo he does not tell us who ſaw it, or where it was laid up. He indeed ſupports this by an Argument that deſtroys it quite: For he tells us, that two Year after this, Secretary *Petre* had a particular Bull, confirming him in his Poſſeſſion of ſome Church Lands. This ſhews, that either that Perſon, who was Secretary of State, knew that no Confirmation was ſent over, ſo that it was neceſſary for him to procure a particular Bull for ſecuring his own Eſtate; or whatever might be in *Poole*'s Power, he might think ſuch a general Tranſaction, which the Neceſſity of that time made reaſonable, would be no longer ſtood to, than while that Neceſſity continued.

General Treaties and Tranſactions have had ſuch a Fate that few will truſt to them. The Spirit of the Church, as well as the Spirit of a Treaty, will be prefer'd to the Words of all *Tranſactions*. Have not we ſeen in our own Days an Edict, that was paſſed with all Solemnity poſſible, and declared perpetual and irrevocable, yet recalled with this very Preamble, That it was made in Compliance to the

Neceſſity

Neceſſity of that time, and on Deſign to bring thoſe, that were promiſed to be for ever tolerated by it, into the Boſom of the Church. There is ſo much in the Canon Law againſt all Sacrilege, and all Alienations of what is once dedicated to God; that tho' ſome Canoniſts may have carried the Plenitude of the Papal Power ſo far, as to reach even to this, which that hired Writer builds on; yet there is ſo much affirmed to the contrary by others, that it is certain whenſoever the Papacy has Strength enough to ſet aſide all the Settlement then made, they will find ſufficient Grounds in Law to proceed to the overturning all that was then done. The Princes of *Germany*, whoſe Settlements he appeals to, do not truſt to any Treaty, with either Emperour or Popiſh Princes, with relation to the Church Lands, of which they poſſeſſed themſelves; but to the Treaties and Guaranties into which they enter'd with one another: And ſo they are engag'd by their Faith, and by their mutual Intereſts to maintain one another and themſelves in their Poſſeſſions: Nor does it appear that a Papal Bull was ever obtained to confirm them. On the contrary the Pope's Legates proteſted againſt them, and, as will appear after-

wards, *Charles* the Vth's Confeſſor refus'd to give him Abſolution, for his conſenting to Edicts of that ſort. If the Neceſſity of the Time makes it neceſſary to maintain that Settlement, ſo long it will be maintain'd, and no longer.

But to put this Matter out of all Doubt, that ſame Pope did, ſoon after our Ambaſſadours were ſent to him, by a Bull, dated the 12th of *July*, 1555, within three Weeks after the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours had their Audience, condemn all the Alienations of Church Lands, and even all Leaſes for one or more Lives, or for a Term longer than three Years: This he extends to all Cathedrals, Monaſteries and Hoſpitals, and annuls all Leaſes, Grants, Exchanges, Mortgages and Obligations of Lands, Caſtles, Towns and Cities, even tho' made by Popes themſelves, or by their Authority and Order, and by the Preſidents, Prelates, or Rectors of Churches, Monaſteries, or Hoſpitals, of what Rank and Dignity ſoever, Cardinals by Name being expreſſed, that were done to the Prejudice of the Church, the Solemnities by Law required, not being obſerved: And that which was Null in the firſt making, but ſupply'd by ſubſequent

ſequent Contracts, in what Form ſoever made, tho' by Proofs upon Oath, and by what length of time ſoever it may claim Preſcription, is all reſcinded, and made void and null. And the Detainers of Goods, upon thoſe Titles are requir'd to quit Poſſeſſion, and to make full Satisfaction for what they have received, and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and pecuniary Puniſhments.

It is true, in all this *England* is not expreſly named, and perhaps the Pope had the recovering from the Family of the *Farneſe*, that which *Paul* the IIId had alienated to it, chiefly in his Eye: But the Words of this Bull do plainly take in the late Settlement in *England*: For tho' the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours were then newly come to *Rome*, demanding the Confirmation of what *Poole* had done; yet no Exceptions are made for *England*: So it ſeems, it was intended by theſe general Words, put in on Deſign, to overthrow it. Now becauſe this Matter is of ſuch great Concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examine into this Bull, I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as no ſmall Piece of Inſtruction, to all who are poſſeſſed of any

any Eſtates ſo alienated from Churches, Monaſteries or Hoſpitals.

Upon the Concluſion of this Head, I cannot but take Notice of one Inſinuation, that I hear ſome are not aſham'd to make: That ſuch a Reſumption may be indeed a Prejudice to the Laity, but that the Clergy will be enrich'd by it. If this had been brought me by an ordinary Hand, I ſhould not have thought it worth mentioning; but ſince ſome have the Impudence to ſet it on foot, I muſt add, That theſe are vain Hopes, as well as they are ſuggeſted on black Deſigns: For tho' the Church, take it in the Bulk, has immenſe Riches in the *Roman* Communion; yet in no Church that ever I ſaw are the Parochial Clergy kept poorer, and made more deſpicable; they are as the Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, kept at hard Labour, on a very poor Subſiſtence. The ſeveral Orders among them, the governing Clergy, and the outward Magnificence of their Churches and Services devours all that Treaſure: So that the poor Clergy, even in that State of Celibate, have ſcarce neceſſary Suſtenance, unleſs it be in ſome few Capital Cities, and in very vaſt Pariſhes in them: They are ſtarved, to maintain

tain the Luxury and Vanity of others: This was the true Occaſion of all the Poverty of the Parochial Clergy among us, to which ſome Remedies have been ſought for, and to ſome degree found, ever ſince the Reformation was firſt ſettled among us.

But none of theſe things will move an inſenſible and degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but preſent Advantages: And ſo, that they may now ſupport a luxurious and brutal Courſe of irregular and voluptuous Practices, they are eaſily hired to betray their Religion, to ſell their Country, and to give up that Liberty and thoſe Properties, which are the preſent Felicities and Glories of this Nation. The giving them up, will be a laſting Infamy on thoſe who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heavieſt Curſes of Poſterity on ſuch perfidious Betrayers of their Truſt: By this they will bring Slavery on themſelves (which they well deſerve, being indeed the worſt ſort of Slaves) and entail it on the ſucceeding Generation.

I return to proſecute the Account of my Deſign in this Work. I went thorough thoſe Volumes in the *Cotton* Library, of which I had only a tranſient View formerly; and laid together all that

that I thought neceſſary to compleat it. I ſaw a great and a fair Proſpect of ſuch a Change ready to be made in *France*, as King *Henry* had made in *England*. Mr. *Le Vaſſor* has, out of an Invaluable Collection of Original Papers that are in Sir *William Trumball*'s Hands, publiſhed Inſtructions ſent by the Duke of *Orleans* to the Princes of *Germany*, by which, as he declared himſelf a Proteſtant, ſo he gave in general Words good Hopes of his Father *Francis*. I found alſo both in Papers and Printed Books, that King *Henry* often reproached *Francis*, for not keeping his Word to him; and in a long Diſpatch of a Negotiation that *Paget* was imploy'd in with the Admiral of *France*, I ſaw further Evidence of this. I was by theſe Indications ſet on to ſee how far I could penetrate into that Secret.

I was by the favour of the Earl of *Dartmouth* admitted to a free ſearch of the Paper Office, which is now in much better Order and Method, than it was above 30 Years ago, when I ſaw it laſt: And there, among other very Valuable Papers, I found the Copy of that ſolemn Promiſe that *Francis* made to *Henry*, minuted on the back by *Cromwell*'s Hand, as a true Copy, in theſe Words: *An Inſtrument*

ſtrument deviſed from the French *King, for his Juſtification and Defence of the Invalidity of the King's Highneſs's firſt Marriage, and the Validity of the ſecond.*

" By this he in expreſs Words condemns " the Pope's Bull diſpenſing with the " Marriage with Queen *Katharine*, " which he, by the Unanimous Conſent " of thoſe learned Men whom he had " appointed to Examine it, condemns as " Inceſtous and Unlawful, and reputes " the Daughter born in it, Spurious and " Illegitimate: And that the ſecond Marriage with *Anne*, then Queen, was " Lawful and Juſt, and that *Elizabeth* " born of it, was lawfully born. And " he promiſes to aſſiſt and maintain the " King in this, againſt all the World. " In this Inſtrument he owns King *Henry*, to be, under God, the *Supreme Head of the Church of England*; and " he affirms, that many of the Cardinals, " in particular the late Cardinal of *Ancona* " and even Pope *Clement* the *7th* himſelf, did both to his Ambaſſadour and " to himſelf at *Marſeilles* plainly confeſs, that the Pope's Bull and the Marriage made upon it were null and void, " and that he would have given a definitive Sentence in the Matter, if ſome

" private Affections and human Regards " had not hinder'd it." This makes me conclude, that he gave other Inſtruments of a further extent to King *Henry*, for failing in which, I find he was often reproached, tho' this ſingle Inſtrument is all that I could find out: But the Lord *Herbert* reckons among the chief Cauſes of King *Henry*'s laſt Rupture with *Francis*, That he had not deſerted the Biſhop of *Rome*, and conſented to a Reformation as he once promiſed.

I ſaw when I paſſed through *Zurick*, a Volume of Letters that paſſed between *Bullinger* and thoſe *Engliſh* Divines that had been ſo kindly entertained by him in that noble Canton: And by the Interpoſition of my learned, judicious and pious, Friend Mr. *Turretin* of *Geneva*, Mr. *Otto*, a worthy Profeſſor there, has taken ſuch Care, that Copies of them are procured for me; in which we may ſee the Senſe of thoſe who revived our Reformation in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time. Men who had been Abroad, and had ſeen all Things about them in a true Light, that ſaw in what the Strength of *Popery* lay, and what fortified or weakened the Body of the Reformed, were liker to have truer Views than can be expected from retir'd

or ſullen Men, who have lived in a Corner, and have but a ſmall Horizon.

It has been objected to me, that I have ſaid little of Proceedings in Convocation, and of the Struggle that the Clergy made before they were brought to make the Submiſſion, which has brought thoſe Bodies under Reſtraints, that ſeem now uneaſie to the Advocates for Church Power. I muſt confeſs I have been very defective here: I underſtood that the Books of Convocation were burnt: None of thoſe great Men, under whoſe Direction that Work went on, knew any thing of thoſe Diſcoveries, that have been of late made, ſo no wonder if I paſſed over what was then ſo little known. Yet, now I have examined all that I could find of thoſe Matters, I confeſs I am not enclined to expect much from the Aſſemblies of Clergymen. I have ſeen nothing in Church Hiſtory to incline me to depart from *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Opinion of thoſe Aſſemblies: What has happened among ourſelves of late, has not made me of another Mind: And I will not deny, but that my Copiouſneſs on theſe Matters, is in my own Opinion, one of the meaneſt parts of my Work. The wiſeſt and worthieſt Man in that Convocation, Arch-

Biſhop *Warham*, was the Perſon that promoted the Submiſſion the moſt. It was no Wonder if a corrupt Clergy, that made ſuch ill Uſe of their Power, had no Mind to part with any Branch of it. Yet, ſince theſe things have been of late ſuch a Subject of Debate among us, I have taken what Pains I could, to gather all that is left of thoſe Times, in ſuch Copies, or rather Abſtracts, as have been of late found in private Hands; only I will ſet down the Opinion of Sir *Thomas More*, the beſt Man of the Popiſh Side in that Age, of thoſe Meetings.

" He calls the Clergy's aſſembling at " the Convocation, by the Name of " Confederacies. If they did aſſemble " often, and there did ſuch things for " which ſuch Aſſemblies of the Clergy " in every Province thro' all Chriſten- " dom, from the beginning, were in- " ſtituted and deviſed, much more " good might have grown thereof, than " the long Diſuſe can ſuffer us now " to perceive. But all my Days, as far " as I have heard, nor I ſuppoſe a good " part of my Fathers neither, they " came never together to Convocation, " but at the Requeſt of the King, and " at ſuch their Aſſemblies, concerning " Spiritual

More's Apology, 1533. Fol. 241.

" Spiritual Things, have very little
" done. Wherefore that they have
" been in that neceſſary part of their
" Duty ſo negligent, whether God ſuf-
" fer to grow to an unperceived Cauſe
" of Diviſion, and Grudge againſt them,
" God whom their ſuch Negligence
" hath, I fear me, ſore offended, know-
" eth.

The Affinity of the Matter has led me to reflect on a great Tranſaction, with Relation to the Church of *France*, which was carried on, and finally ſettled in the very time that King *Henry* was breaking with the Court of *Rome*. It was the Concordate that *Francis* the Iſt made with Pope *Leo* the Xth. The King and the Pope came to a Bargain, by which they divided the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church between them, and indeed quite enſlaved it. There are ſo many curious Paſſages in the Progreſs of that Matter, that I hope the opening theſe will be a very acceptable Entertainment to the Nation: And the rather becauſe in it this Nation will ſee what it is to deliver up the Eſſential Liberties of a free Conſtitution to a Court, and to truſt to the Integrity and Firmneſs of Courts of Juſtice, when an Aſ- 1532

ſembly

ſembly of the States is no more neceſ-ſary to the Raiſing of Money, and the Support of the Government. I know nothing writ in our Language, with Relation to this Matter, beſides that Account I gave of it in a Book concern-ing the *Regale*. It was taken from a very exact Hiſtory of that Tranſaction, that was written by Mr. *Pinſons*, print-ted *Anno* 1666: and that ſeemed to ſome very proper Judges to relate ſo much to our Affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably diſpoſed the Nation more eaſily to throw off the Papal Authority. They ſaw what a filthy Merchandiſe the Court of *Rome* had made of the Li-berties of the Neighbouring Church, taking Care only to ſecure their own Profits, and delivering up the reſt to the Crown. The beſt Writers of that Church have on many Occaſions la-mented the Loſs of their Liberties by that deteſtable Bargain, into which *Francis* his Neceſſities, wrought on by the Practices of the Court of *Rome*, drew him. " By this the Church of " *France* from being a Queen, became " (as Biſhop *Godeau* expreſſes it) a " Slave: And he adds, Our Fathers " have groaned, and all that love the

" Order

" Order of the Houſe of God will ſtill " groan, as long as Elections continue " to be put down; ſo that we muſt " needs enter into the Sanctuary by the " way of the Court. In another Place, " theſe Promotions have been always " fatal to the Church, and the Biſhops, " that the Court has made, have been " ordinarily the chief Advancers of " Schiſms, Hereſies, and of the Op- " preſſion of the Church: And he con- " cludes, One cannot read *Nazianzen*'s " Verſes of the Prelates of his Time, " without being ſtruck with Horrour, " and forc'd to acknowledge that a Se- " cular Temper is entirely contrary to " the Epiſcopal Spirit." Of this a *Greek* Writer makes a ſevere Remark in the Hiſtory of *Andronicus*'s Reign, which may perhaps be as juſtly apply'd to other Reigns, telling what ſort of Biſhops were then made. " Princes " chooſe ſuch Men to that Charge who " may be their Slaves, and in all things " obſequious to what they preſcribe, " and may lie at their Feet, and have " not ſo much as a Thought contrary " to their Commands." This Change in their Conſtitution has put an End not only to National but even to Pro-

vincial

vincial Synods in that Kingdom. Some were indeed held upon the Progreſs that *Luther*'s Doctrine was beginning to make in *France*, and others during the Civil Wars, in order to the getting the Council of *Trent* received in *France*. But now in the Space of 90 Years laſt paſt, theſe are no more brought together. The Aſſemblies of the Clergy meet only to give Subſidies, and to preſent their Grievances, but do not pretend to the Authority of a regular Synod: And tho' in the Year 1682, they drew up ſome Articles, yet theſe had their Authority only from the Severity of the King's Edict, till by a Tranſaction with the Court of *Rome* that was let fall.

I have now gone over all the Matters that do properly fall within this Introduction, it remains that I leave the Senſe of the Subject of this, and of my two former Volumes upon the Conſciences of my Readers. Can it be poſſible that any are ſo depraved, as to wiſh we had no Religion at all, or to be Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion? Would theſe Men reduce us to be a ſort of *Hottentots?* And yet this muſt grow to be the Effect of our being without all

all Religion. Mankind is a Creature, by his Make and Frame diſpoſed to Religion; and if this is not managed by true Principles, all the Jugglings of Heatheniſm would again take Poſſeſſion of the World. If the Principles of Truth, Juſtice, Temperance, and of univerſal Love do not govern Men, they will ſoon grow Curſes and Plagues to one another: And a Crew of Prieſts will grow up, who will teach them to compound for all Crimes, and to expiate the blackeſt Practiſes by ſome Rituals.

Religion has ſo much to ſtruggle with, that, if it is not believed to be reveal'd by God, it will not have Strength enough to reſiſt thoſe ill Inclinations, thoſe Appetites and Paſſions, that are apt to riſe up in our Minds, againſt its Dictates. What is there in the true and unſophiſticated Chriſtian Religion that can give a Colour to Prejudices againſt it? The whole Complex of that Rule of Life which it preſcribes, is ſo plainly ſuited to our Compoſition, both in our Souls and their Faculties, and in our Bodies, with relation to good Health, to Induſtry and long Life; and to all the Intereſts of Human Society, to the Order and Peace of the World, and to

the Truth and Love that are the Cements and Securities of the Body Politick; that, without any labour'd Proof of its divine Original, these are such Characters, that they may serve to prove it is sent into the World by a Lover of Mankind; who knew our Nature, and what was proper both to perfect it, and to render it not only safe but happy.

But when to all this we add the Evidence that was given at its appearing in the World: that he who was the first Author of it, and those, whom he imploy'd first to propagate it, did, upon many Occasions, in full Day-Light, and in the Sight of great Multitudes, do things so far above the Powers of Nature, in such uncontested Miracles, that by these it evidently appear'd they were assisted by somewhat superiour to Nature, that could command it at Pleasure: Here is the fullest Ground of Conviction possible. These things were written, publish'd and receiv'd in the Age, in which they were transacted: And those Writings have been preserv'd with great Care, and are transmitted down to us, at the Distance of above sixteen Ages, pure and uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed Standard of our Religion, and by them we

we can ſatisfie our ſelves concerning all ſuch Practiſes as have been made upon it, or ſuch Inferences as are drawn from it. I wiſh thoſe who take to themſelves the Name of *Free-Thinkers*, would conſider well, if they think it is poſſible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all, and what the Conſequences of that may prove; and then ſee if there is any Religion ſo little liable to be corrupted, and that tends ſo much to the Good of Mankind, as the true Chriſtian Religion, reform'd among us.

As for thoſe that do truly believe this Religion, and have an Ingenuous Senſe and Taſt of Liberty, can they admit a Compariſon to be made between a Religion reſtrained to a fixed Standard, into which every one is admitted, to examine the Senſe of it, in the beſt Method he can; and that which ſets up another uncertain Standard of which they pretend to be the Depoſitaries, I mean Traditions; and pretend further, they are the Infallible Expounders of it, and that the true Standard itſelf, is not to be expos'd to common View? That God is to be Worſhipped in a Language not underſtood; that inſtead of a competent Proviſion to thoſe who Labour in

this Work, the Head of them is to become a great Prince, and may pretend to a Power to diſpoſe of Kingdoms and States, to Pardon Sins, and to Redeem Sinners out of the Miſeries of a future State; and that the Character derived from him is ſo ſacred, that, in Defiance to Senſe and Reaſon, a Prieſt by a few Words, can work a Miracle, in compariſon to which the greateſt of Miracles is nothing; and who by theſe means have poſſeſſed themſelves of an immenſe Wealth and a vaſt Authority.

Theſe are all Things of ſo ſtrange a Nature, and ſo contrary to the Genius and Deſign of the Chriſtian Religion, that it is not eaſie to imagine how they could ever gain Credit and Succeſs in the World: But when Men's Eyes have been once open'd, when they have ſhaken off the Yoke, and got out of the Nooſe; when the Simplicity of true Religion has been ſeen into, and the Sweets of Liberty have been Taſted, it looks like Charm and Witchcraft, to ſee ſo many looking back ſo tamely on that Servitude, under which this Nation groaned ſo heavily for ſo many Ages. They may ſoon ſee and know what our happy Condition is, in the Freedom we

enjoy from theſe Impoſitions, and what their Miſery is, that are condemned to them. It is not enough for ſuch as underſtand this matter, to be contented in their own Thoughts, with this, that they reſolve not to turn Papiſts themſelves: They ought to awaken all about them, even the moſt ignorant and the moſt ſtupid to apprehend their Danger, and to exert themſelves with their utmoſt Induſtry, to guard againſt it, and to reſiſt it. They ought to uſe all their Efforts to prevent it, and earneſtly to pray to God for his Bleſſing upon them: If after all Men's Endeavours to prevent it, the Corruption of the Age, and the Art and Power of our Enemies, prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we muſt ſubmit to the Will of God, be ſilent, and prepare our ſelves for all the Extremities of Suffering and of Miſery; and if we fall under a Perſecution, and cannot fly from it, we muſt reſolve to gloriſy God, by bearing our Croſs patiently. Illegal Sufferings are no more to be born, than the Violences of a Robber: But if the Law comes once to be in the Hands of thoſe Wicked Men, who will not only revive the Repealed Laws againſt Hereticks, but, if they can,

carry

carry their Cruelty up to the Heighth of an Inquiſition, then we muſt try by *the Faith and Patience of the Saints, to go through Fire and through Water*, and in all Things to be *more than Conquerors*.

I know ſome, who are either apt to deceive themſelves, or hope to deceive others, have this in their Mouths, That *Popery* is not what it was before the Reformation; Things are much mended, many Abuſes are detected, and Things are not ſo groſs as they were then: And they tell us, that further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them; in particular, they fanſie they ſee the Error of Proceeding ſeverely with Hereticks, ſo that there is no Reaſon to apprehend the Return of ſuch Cruelties, as were practiſed an Age and a half ago.

In anſwer to this, and to lay open the Falſhood of it, we are to look back to the firſt beginning of *Luther*'s Breach: It was occaſion'd by the Scandalous Sale of Pardons and Indulgencies, which all the Writers of the *Popiſh* Side give up, and acknowledge it was a great Abuſe; ſo in the Countries where the Reformation has got an Entrance, or in the Neighbourhood of them, this is no more

more heard of: And it has been taken for granted, that ſuch an infamous Traffick was now no more practiſed. But of late that we have had Armies in *Spain* and *Portugal*, we are well aſſured that it is ſtill carried on there, in the moſt bare-fac'd manner poſſible. It is true, the proclaiming a Sale, is forbid by a Bull: But there is a Commiſſary in every Place, who manages the Sale with the moſt infamous Circumſtances imaginable. In *Spain*, by an Agreement with the Pope, the King has the Profits of this Bull; and it is no ſmall Branch of his Revenue. In *Portugal* the King and the Pope go Shares: Dr. *Colbatch* has given a very particular Account of the Managing the Bull there; for as there is nothing ſo Impudent, that thoſe Men are aſhamed to venture on; ſo they may ſafely do what they pleaſe, where the Terror of the Inquiſition is ſo ſevere a Reſtraint, that Men dare not whiſper againſt any thing that is under that Protection.

A notable Inſtance of this has appear'd lately, when in the Year 1709, the Privateers of *Briſtol* took the Galleon, in which they found 500 Bales of theſe Bulls, and 16 Reams were in a Bale: So that

that they reckoned the whole came to 3840000. These Bulls are imposed on the People, and Sold, the lowest at 3 *Ryals*, a little more than 20 *d.* But to some at 50 Pieces of Eight, about 11 *l.* of our Money, and this to be Valued according to the Ability of the Purchaser, once in two Years: All are oblig'd to buy them against Lent. Besides the Account given of this in the Cruising Voyage, I have a particular Attestation of it by Captain *Dampier*, and one of the Bulls was brought me Printed, but so, that it cannot be read. He was not concern'd in casting up the Number of them: but, he says, that there was such a vast Quantity of them, that they careen'd their Ship with them.

As for any Changes that may be made in Popery, it is certain, Infallibility is their Basis: So nothing can be altered where a Decision is once made: And as for the Treatment of Hereticks, there has been such a Scene of Cruelty of late open'd in *France*, and continued there, now almost 30 Years without Intermission; that even in the Kingdom, where Popery has affected to put the best Face on Things possible, we have seen a cruel Course of Severity, beyond any Thing

thing in Hiſtory. I ſaw it in its firſt and ſharpeſt Fury, and can never forget the Impreſſion that made on me.

A Diſcovery lately made, ſhews what the Spirit of thoſe at *Rome*, who manage the Concerns of that Religion, is, even in a mild Reign, ſuch as *Odiſchalci*'s was; and we may well ſuppoſe that, becauſe it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a Spirit of Perſecution. When the Abbey of St. *Gall* was taken in the late War in *Switzerland*, a Manuſcript was found, that the Court of *Propaganda* ordered their Secretary to prepare for *Innocent* the IIth's own Uſe, which after his Death came into the Hands of Cardinal *Sondrato*, who was Abbot of St. *Gall*, and ſo at his Death left this Book there. It gives a particular Account of all the Miſſions they have in all the Parts of the World; and of the Rules and Inſtructions given them, with which I hope thoſe worthy Perſons, in whoſe Hands this valuable Book is now fallen, will quickly acquaint the World. The Concluſion of it, is an Addreſs to the Pope, in which they lay his Duty before him, from two of the Words in the New Teſtament, directed to St.

Peter. The first was, *Feed my Sheep*, which obliged him not only to feed the Flock, that was gathered at that time, but to prosecute the constant increase of it, and to bring those Sheep into it, that were not of that Fold. But the other Word was addressed to him by a Voice from Heaven, when the Sheet was let down to him full of all sorts of Beasts, of which some were unclean, *Rise Peter, kill and eat*, to let all see, that it is the Duty of the great Pontiff to rise up with Apostolical Vigilance, to kill and to extinguish, in the Infidels, their present Life, and then to eat them, to Consubstantiate their false and brutal Doctrine into the Verity of our Faith. There is an Affectation in these last Words suitable to the Genius of the *Italians*. This Application of these two Passages, as containing the Duties of a Pope, was formerly made by *Baronius*, in a flattering Speech, to encourage Pope *Paul* the V*th* in the War he was designing against the *Venetians*.

By this we see, that how much soever we may let the Fears of Popery wear out of our Thoughts, they are never a-sleep, but go on steadily, prosecuting their Designs against us. *Popery* is *Popery* still; acted by a Cruel and Persecuting

ſecuting Spirit; and with what Caution ſoever they may hide or diſown ſome Scandalous Practiſes, where Hereticks dare look into their Proceedings, and lay them open; yet even theſe are ſtill practiſed by them, when they know they may ſafely do it, and where none dare open their Mouth againſt them; and therefore we ſee what Reaſon we have to be ever watching and on our guard againſt them.

This is the Duty of every ſingle Chriſtian among us; but certainly thoſe Peers and Commoners whom our Conſtitution has made the Truſtees and Depoſitaries of our Laws and Liberties, and of the Legal Security of our Religion, are under a more particular obligation, of watching carefully over this ſacred Truſt, for which they muſt give a ſevere account in the laſt day, if they do not guard it againſt all Danger, at what diſtance ſoever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the Fences and Outworks of it, or ſuffer Breaches to be made on any of them; if they ſuffer any part of our Legal Eſtabliſhment to be craftily undermin'd; if they are either abſent or remiſs, on Critical Occaſions; and if any Views of Advantage to them-

ſelves prevail on them, to give up or abandon the Eſtabliſhment and Security of our Religion: God may work a Deliverance for us another way, and if it ſeem good in his Eyes, he will deliver us; but they and their Families ſhall periſh, their Names will rot, and be held in Deteſtation; Poſterity will Curſe them, and the Judgments of God will overtake them, becauſe they have ſold that which was the moſt Sacred of all Things, and have let in an Inundation of Idolatry, Superſtition, Tyranny and Cruelty, upon their Church and Country.

But in the laſt place, thoſe who are appointed to be the *Watchmen*, who ought to give warning, and to *lift up their Voice as a Trumpet*, when they ſee thoſe Wolves ready to break in and devour the Flock, have the heavieſt account of all others to make, if they neglect their Duty; much more if they betray their Truſt: If they are ſo ſet on ſome ſmaller Matters, and are ſo ſharpened upon that account, that they will not ſee their Danger, nor awaken others to ſee it, and to fly from it; the guilt of thoſe Souls who have periſhed by their Means, *God will require at their Hands*, if they, in the View of any

any Advantage to themſelves, are ſilent when they ought to cry out Day and Night: They will fall under the Character given by the Prophet, of the Watchmen in his Time. *They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb Dogs, they cannot bark, ſleeping, lying down, loving to ſlumber: Yea they are greedy Dogs, which can never have enough: And they are Shepherds that cannot underſtand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter: That ſay, come, I will fetch Wine, and we will fill ourſelves with ſtrong Drink; to-morrow ſhall be as this day, and much more abundant.*

This is a lively Deſcription of ſuch Paſtours as will not ſo much as ſtudy Controverſies, and that will not know the Depths of Satan; that put the Evil Day far off, and as the Men in the Days of *Noah* or *Lot*, live on at their Eaſe, ſatisfying themſelves in running round a Circle of dry and dead Performances; that do neither awaken themſelves nor others. When the day of Trial comes, what will they ſay? To whom will they fly for help? Their Spirits will either ſink within them, or they will ſwim with the Tide: The Cry will be, the Church, the Church, even when all is

Ruin

Ruin and a Deſolation. I hope they will ſeriouſly reflect, on the few particulars that I have, out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and ſee what Weight may be in them, and look about them, to conſider the Dangers we are in, before it is too late: But what can be ſaid of thoſe, who are already going into ſome of the worſt parts of Popery. It is well known, that, in practice, the Neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, and the Prieſtly Abſolution, with the Conceit of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, are the moſt gainful parts of Popery, and are indeed thoſe that do moſt effectually ſubdue the World to it. The Independence of the Church on the State, is alſo ſo contended for, as if it were on Deſign to diſgrace our Reformation. The indiſpenſible Neceſſity of the Prieſthood to all Sacred Functions is carried in the Point of Baptiſm further than Popery: Their Devotions are openly recommended, and a Union with the *Gallican* Church has been impudently propoſed; the Reformation and the Reformers are by many daily vilified, and that Doctrine, that has been moſt univerſally maintained by our beſt Writers, I mean the Supremacy of the Crown, is on many occaſions

Arraigned

Arraigned: What will all theſe Things end in! and on what Deſign are they driven! alas it is too Viſible.

God be thanked there are many among us that ſtand upon the *Watch Tower*, and that give faithful Warning; that ſtand in the *Breach*, and make themſelves *a Wall for their Church and Country*; *that cry to God Day and Night, and lie in the duſt mourning before him*, to avert thoſe Judgments that ſeem to haſten towards us: They ſearch into the Myſtery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themſelves with all that Maſs of Corruption, that is in Popery. They have another Notion of the Worſhip of God, than to dreſs it up as a ſplendid Opera: They have a juſt Notion of Prieſthood, as a Function that imports a Care of Souls, and a Solemn performing the Publick Homage we owe to God; but do not invert it to a Political piece of Craft, by which Men's Secrets are to be diſcovered, and all are ſubdued by a Tyranny, that reaches to Men's Souls as well as to their Worldly Concerns. In a Word, they conſider Religion in the Soul, as a ſecret Senſe of divine Matters, which purifies all Men's Thoughts, and governs all their Words and

and Actions: And in this Light, they propoſe it to their People, warning them againſt all Dangers and againſt all Deceivers of all ſorts: Watching over them as thoſe that muſt give an Account, to the *Great Biſhop of Souls, feeding the Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt has made them Overſeers*, ready to lay down their Lives for them, looking for their Crown from the *Chief Shepherd when he ſhall appear.*

May the Number of theſe good and faithful Servants encreaſe daily more and more; may their Labours be ſo bleſſed, that they may ſee the Travail of their Soul and be ſatisfied; and may many by their Means, and by their Example be ſo awakened, that they may reſiſt even to Blood, ſtriving againſt Sin, and againſt the Man of Sin: And may I be of that number, labouring while it is Day, and ready when the Night comes, either to lie down and reſt in the Grave, or if God calls me to it, to Seal that Doctrine, which I have been preaching now above fifty Years, with my Blood: May his holy Will be done, ſo I may but glorify him in my Soul and Body, which are his.

FINIS.